SPEECH OF MR. CALHON, OF S. C., ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION. Delivered in the Senate of the United States, March 4th, 1850

I have, Senators, believed from the first that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion. Entertaining this spinion, I have, on all proper occasions, endeavoured to call the attention of both of the two great parties which divide the country, to adopt some measures to prevent so great a disaster, but without success. The agitation has been persuitted to proceed, with almost no attempt to resist it, until it has reached a period when it can no longer be disguised or that the Union is in danger. You have thus forced upon you the greatest and the gravest question that can ever come unir consideration—How can the Union be preserved ? To give a satisfactory answer to this mighty question, it is indispensable to have an accurate and thorough knowledge of the nature and character of the cause by which the Union is endangered. Without such knowledge it is impossible to pro-

nounce, with any certainty, by what means it can be saved; just as it would be impossible for a physician to pronounce in the case of some dangerous disease, with any certainty, by what remedy the patient could be saved, without similar knowledge of the nature and character of the cause of the disease. The first question, then, presented for considera-tion, in the investigation I propose to make, in order to ob-tain such knowledge, is—What is it that has endangered the

To this question there can be but one answer; that the immediate cause is the almost universal discontent which pervades all the States composing the Southern section of the Union. This widely extended discontent is not of recent oriand has been increasing ever since. The next question, going one step further back, is—What has caused this widely diffu-It-commenced with the agitation of the slavery question

It is a great mistake to suppose, as is by some, that it ori-ginated with demagogues, who excited the discontent with the intention of aiding their personal advancement, or with the discoppinted ambition of certain politicians, who resorted to it as the means of retrieving their fortunes. On the con-trary, all the great political influences of the section were ar-rayed against excitement, and exected to the utmost to be rayed against excitement, and exerted to the utmost to keep the people quiet. The great mass of the people of the South were divided, as in the other section, into Whigs and Democrats. The leaders and the presses in the South were very solicitous to prevent excitement and preserve quiet ; because it was seen that the effects of the former would necessarily tend to weaken, if not destroy, the political ties which united them with their respective parties in the other section. Those who know the strength of party ties will readily appreciate the finiseins force which this cause exerted against agitation and in favor of preserving quiet. But, as great as it was, it was not sufficient to prevent the wide-spread discontent which more powerful than the one supposed, must exist, to account for discontent so wide and deer. for discontent so wide and deep. The question then recurs— What is the cause of this discontent? It will be found in the belief of the people of the Southern States, as prevalentas the discontent itself, that they cannot remain, as things now are, consistently with honor and safety, in the Union. The next question to be considered is-What has caused this be-

One of the causes is, undoubtly; to be traced to the long continued agitation of the slave question on the part of the north, and the many aggressions which they have made on the rights of the south during the time. I will not enumerate them at present, as it will be done hereafter in its pro-

There is another lying back of it, with which this is intimately connected, that may be regarded as the great and primary cause That is to be found in the fact that the equilibrium between the two sections in the government, as it stood when the constitution was ratified and the government put in action, has been destroyed. At that time there was nearly a perfect equilibrium between the two, which afforded ample means to each to protect itself against the aggression of the other; but, as it now stands, one section has the exclusive power of controlling the government, which leaves the other without any adequate means of protecting itself against its encroachment and oppression. To place this subject distinctly before you, I have, Senators, prepared a brief statistical statement, showing the relative weight of the two sections in the government under the first census of 1790 and the last census of 1840.

According to the former, the population of the United States, including Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, which then were in their incipient condition of becoming States, but were not actually admitted, amounted to 3,929,827. Of this number the Northern States had 1,977,899, und the which eight, including Vermont; belonged to the Northern section, and eight, including Kentucky and Tennessee, to the Southern, making an equal division of the States between the two sections under the first census. There was a small preponderance in the House of Repretentatives, and the electoral college in favor of the Northern, owing to the fact that, according to the provisions of the constitution, in estimating federal numbers, five slaves count but three; but it was too small to affect sensibly the perfect equilibrium, which, with that exception, existed at the time. Such was the equality of the two sections when the States composing them agrred to enter into a Federal Union. Since then the equilibrium between them has been greatly disturbed.

According to the last census the aggregate population of the United States amounted to 17,063,357, of which the Northern section contained 9,728,920, and the Southern 7, 334,437, making a difference, in round numbers, of 2,400,000. The number of States had increased from sixteen to twenty six, making an addition of ten States. In the mean time the position of Delaware had become doubtful as to which section she properly belongs. Considering her as neutral, the Northern States will have thirteen and the Southern States twelve, making a difference in the Senate of two Senators in favor of the former. According to the apportionment under the census of 1840, there were 223 members of the House of Representatives, of which the Northern States had 135, and the Southern States (considering Delaware as neutral) 87, making a difference in favor of the former in the House of Representatives of 48. The difference in the Senate of two members added to this, gives to the North in the electoral college, a majority of 50. Since the census of 1840, four States have been added to the Union; Iowa, Wisconsin, Florida, and Texas. They leave the difference in the Senate as it stood when the census was taken; but add two to the side

of the North in the House, making the present majority in the House in its favor of 50, and in the electoral college of 52. The result of the whole is to give the Northern section a predominance in every department of the Government, and thereby concentrate in it the two elements which constitute the Federal Government; majority of States, and a majority of their population, estimated in federal numbers. Whatever section concentrates the two in itself possesses the control of the entire Government

But we are just at the close of the sixth decade, and the commencement of the seventh. The census is to be taken this year, which must add greatly to the decided preponderance of the North in the House of Representatives and in the electoral college. The prospect is, also, that a great increase will be added to its present preponderance in the Senate during the period of the decade by the addition of new States. Two territories, Oregon and Minnesota, are already in progress, and strenuous efforts are making to bring in three additional States from the territory recently conquered from Mexico, which, if successful, will add three other States in a short time to the Northern section, making five States, and increasing the present number of its States from fifteen to might choose to do. This was sufficient of itself to put the twenty, and of its Senators from thirty to forty. On the contrary, there is not a single territory in progress in the South-ern section, and no certainty that any additional State will by our assailants, when brought to the test? Have they ab-the South. ern section, and no certainty that any additional State will be added to it during the decade. The prospect then is, that the two sections in the Senate, should the efforts now made to exclude the South from the newly acquired territories succeed, will stand, before the end of the decade, twenty Northarn States to twelve Southern, (considering Delaware as neutral.) and forty Northern Senators to twenty-four Southern. This great increase of Senators, added to the great increase members of the House of Representatives and electoral college on the part of the North, which must take place under the next decade, will effectually and irretrievably destroy the equilibrium which existed when the government com-

Had this destruction been the operation of time, without the interference of government, the South would have had no reason to complain; but such was not the fact. It was caused by the legislation of this government, which was appointed as the common agent of all, and charged with the protection of the interests and security of all. The legislation by which it has been effected, may be classed under three heads. The first is, that series of acts by which the South has been excluded from the common territories belonging to all of the States, as the members of the Federal Union, and which have had the effect of extending vastly the portion allotted to the Northern section, and restricting within narrow limits, the portion left the South. The next consists in adopting a system of revenue and disbursements, by which an undue pro-portion of the burthen of taxation has been imposed upon the South, and an undue proportion of its proceeds appropriated to the North; and the last is a system of political measures, by which the original character of the government has been radically changed. I propose to bestow upon each of these, in the order they stand, a few remarks, with the view of of showing that it is owing to the action of this government that the equilibrium between the two sections has been destroyed, and the whole powers of the system centered in a sectional majority.

The first of the series of acts by which the South was deprived of its due share of the Territories, originated with the Oonfederacy, which preceded the existence of this Government. It is to be found in the provision of the ordinance of wast and fertile region which lies between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, now embracing five States and one Territory. The next of the series is the Missouri compromise, which excluded the South from that large portion of Louisiana which lies parts of 28 20 are the Union itself.

As for myself, I believed at that early period if the party who got up the petitions should succeed in getting Congress to take jurisdiction, that agitation would follow, and that it was insultuted, by being permanently and hopeless-ly converted into the means of oppressing instead of protecting us. On the contrary, we find much in his example to encourage us, should we be forced to the extremity of deciding between submission and disunion. lying south of 36 30, and the portion north of it included in the State of Missouri. The portion lying south of 36 30, including the States of Louisiana and Arkansas, and the territory lying west of the latter and south of 36 30, called the Intory lying west of the latter and south of 36 30, called the Indian country. These, with the Territory of Florida, now the State, makes in the whole, 233,503 square miles. To this must be added the territory acquired with Tayon If the must be added the territory acquired with Texas. If the an object of courtship to both of the great parties. The newhole should be added to the Southern section, it would make cossary consequence was, a further increase of power, and a

I have not included the territory recently acquired by the treaty with Mexico. The North is making the most strenuous efforts to appropriate the whole to herself, by excluding the South from every foot of it. If she should succeed, it will add to that from which the South has already been excluded, add to that from which the South has already been excluded, 526,078 square miles, and would increase the whole which the North has appropriated to herself to 1,764,023, not including the portion that she may succeed to in excluding us from in Texas. To sum up the whole, the United States, since they declared their independence, have acquired 2,373,046 square miles of territory, from which the North will have excluded the South, if she should succeed in monopolizing the newly acquired territories, about these-fourths of the whole, leaving to the South but about one-fourth.

treesury, but directly into the pockets of the manufacturers, some conception may be formed of the immense amount which, in the long course of sixty years, have been transferred from South to North. There are no data by which it can be estimated with any certainty; but it is safe to say that it amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars. Under the most moderate estimate, it would be sufficient to add greatly to the wealth of the North, and thus greatly increase her population by attracting emigration from all quarters to

that section.

This, combined with the great and primary cause, amply explains why the North has acquired a preponderance over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government, by its disproportive over every department of the government of the gov tionate increase of population and States. has been shown, has increased in fifty years. 2,400,000 over that of the South. This increase of population, during so long a period, is satisfactorily accounted for, by the number of emigrants, and the increase of their descendants, which have been attracted to the Northern section from Europe and the South, in consequence of the advantages derived from the causes assigned. If they had not existed—if the South had retained all the capital which has been extracted from her by the fiscal action of the government; and, if it had not been excluded by the ordinance of '87 and the Missouri compromise, from the region lying between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, and between the Mississippi and the Rocky mountains, north of 36 30—it scarcely admits of a doubt that t would have divided the emigration with the North, and by retaining her own people, would have at least equalled the North in population under the census of 1840, and probably ander that about to be taken. She would also, if she had retained her equal rights in those territories, have maintained reserved the equilibrium between the two sections that exsted at the commencement of the government. The loss, then, of the equilibrium, is to be attributed to the action of

this government. But while these measures were destroying the equilibrium between the two sections, the action of the Government was leading to a radical change in its character, by concentrating our political institutions; beginning with smaller meetings permit me to trace the measures by which this great change has been consummated. If it did, it would not be difficult to show that the process commenced at an early period of the Government; that it proceeded, almost without interruption, step by step, until it absorbed virtually its entire round. step by step, until it absorbed virtually its entire powers, but without going through the whole process to establish the fact, it may be done satisfactorily by a very short statement.

That the Government claims, and practically maintains, the right to decide in the last resort, as to the extent of its powers, will scarcely be denied by any one conversant with the political history of the country. That it also claims the right to resort to force to maintain whatever power she claims, and or establishing presses for the publication of tracts, newspapers, and periodicals, with a view of diffusing religious information, and for the support of the document of the individuals who have attempted to form a constitution tracts, newspapers, and periodicals, with a view of diffusing religious information, and for the support of the document of the individuals who have attempted to form a constitution tracts, newspapers, and periodicals, with a view of diffusing religious information, and for the support of the document of the individuals who have attempted to form a constitution and a State, without their consent. All this is clear, beyond against all opposition, is equally certain. Indeed it is apparatused to the individuals who have attempted to form a constitution tracts, newspapers, and periodicals, with a view of diffusing religious information, and for the support of the document. All this is clear, beyond against all opposition, is equally certain. Indeed it is apparatused to the support of the document of the support of against all opposition, is equally certain. rent, from what we daily hear, that this has become the prevailing and fixed opinion of a great majority of the commu-

Now, I ask, what limitation can possibly be placed upon the powers of a government claiming and exercising such rights? And, if none can be, how can the separate governments of the States maintain and protect the powers reserved to them by the constitution, or the people of the several States maintain those, which are reserved to them, and and established, not only their separate State constitution and governments, but also the constitution and government of the United States? But, if they have no constitutional the character of the government has been charged in conse- which remains unbroken and entire.

ormer, although it still retains its outward form. partment of this Government, and through it a control over the will of a numerical majority, has now, in fact, the control of the Government and the entire powers of the system.— ened. To this extent the Union has already been destroyed What was once a constitutional federal Republic, is now by agitation, in the only way it can be, by snapping asunder converted, in reality, into one as absolute as that of the Au- and weakening the cords which bind it together. ocrat of Russia, and as despotic in its tendency, as any absolute government that ever existed.

As then, the North has the absolute control over the Govthe South, where there is a diversity of interests, the interest | guage, be called a Union, when the only means by which the sive the effects may be, as the South possesses no means by which it can resist, through the action of the Government.—

But if there was no greatineed to the former, however oppressive the effects may be, as the South possesses no means by which it can resist, through the action of the Government.—

But if there was no greatineed to the former, however oppressive the effects may be, as the South possesses no means by which the weaker is held connected with the stronger portion is force.

It may, indeed, keep them connected; but the connexion will partake much more of the characteristic force. But if there was no question of vital importance to the South, in reference to which there was a diversity of views-between the two sections, this state of things might be endured, without the hazard of destruction to the South. But such is not the fact. There is a question of vital importance to the Southern section in reference to which the views and feelings of the two sections are as opposite and hostile as they can and character, the question again recurs—how can the Union possibly be.

I refer to the relation between the two races in the Southern section, which constitutes a vital portion of her social organization. Every portion of the North entertains views and feelings more or less hostile to it. Those most opposed and hostile regard it as a sin, and consider themselves under the most sacred obligation to use every effort to destroy it .-Indeed, to the extent that they conceive they have power, they regard themselves as implicated in the sin, and responsible for suppressing it, by the use of all and every means. Those less opposed and hostile regard it as a crime—an offence against humanity, as they call it-and, although not so fanatical, feel themselves bound to use all efforts to effect the same object, while those who are least opposed and hostile regard it as a blot and a stain on the character of what they call the nation, and feel themselves accordingly bound to give it no countenance or support. On the contrary, the Southern section regards the relation as one which cannot be destroyed without subjecting the two races to the greatest calamity, and the section to poverty, desolation, and wretchedness, and accordingly they feel bound, by every consideration of inter-

est and safety, to defend it. This hostile feeling on the part of the North towards the social organization of the South, long lay dormant, but it only required some cause to act on those who felt most intensely that they were responsible for its continuance, to call it into action. The increasing power of this government, and of the control of the Northern section over all its depart ments, furnished the cause. It was this which made an impression on the minds of many, that there was little, or no most fanatical portion of the North in action for the purpose

The first organized movement towards it commenced in 1835. Then, for the first time, societies were organized, presses established, lectures sent forth to excite the people of whole South, through the mail. The South was thoroughly aroused. Meetings were held everywhere, and resolutions adopted, calling upon the North to apply a remedy to arrest the threatened evil, and pledging themselves to adopt meas-ures for their own protection, if it was not arrested. At the meeting of Congress petitons poured in from the North, calland possessed little or no personal influence.

Neither party in Congress had, at that time, any sympathy with them, or their cause. The members of each party presented their petitions with great reluctance. Nevertheless, as small and contemptible as the party then was, both of the great parties of the North dreaded them. They fealt, that though small, they were organized in reference to a sub-Northern mind. Each party, on that account, feared to op-pose their petitions, lest the opposite party should take ad-vantage of the one who might do so, by favoring their petitions. The effect was that both united in insisting that the petitions should be received, and that Congress should take urisdiction of the subject for which they prayed. To justify their course, they took the extraordinary ground, that Congress was bound to receive petitions on every subject, however objectionable it might be, and whether they had or had not jurisdiction over the subject. These views prevailed in the House of Representatives, and partially in the Senate, and thus the party succeeded in their first movements in gaining what they proposed—a position in Congress, from which agitation could be extended over the whole Union.— This was the commencement of the agitation, which has ever since continued, and which, as is now acknowledged, has en-

the South was left the portion of the Territory of Louisians Union; but unfortunately both of the great parties of that

whole should be added to the Southern section, it would make an increase of 325,520, which would make the whole left to the South, 609,023. But a large part of Texas is still in contest between the two sections, which leaves it uncertain what will be the real extent of the portion of territory that may be left to the South.

I have not included the territory recently acquired by the ly ever fail, when it comes to acting, to co-operate in carry-ing out their measures. With the increase of their influence, they extended the sphere of their action. In a short time after the commencement of their first movement they had acquired sufficient influence to induce the Legislatures of most of the Northern States to pass acts, which in effect abrogat-

tial, or have they less influence over, or control over the two great parties of the North in elections? Or has the South greater means of influencing or controlling the movements of this government now, than it had when the agitation com-

To all these questions but one answer can be given, no, no, no. The very reverse is true. Instead of being weaker, all the elements in favor of agitation are stronger now than they were in 1835, when it first commenced, while all the elements of influence on the part of the South are weaker. Unless something decisive is done, I again ask, what is to stop this agitation, before the great and final object at which it aims—the abolition of slavery in the States—is consummated ? Is it, then, not certain that if something decisive is not now done to arrest it, the South will be forced to choose between abolition and secession? Indeed, as events are now moving, it will not require the South to secade to dissolve the Union. Agitation will of itself effect it, of which its past history furnishes abundant proof, as I shall next proceed

It is a great mistake to suppose that disunion can be effect ed by a single blow. The cords which bind these States together in one common Union, are far too numerous and powerful for that. Disunion must be the work of time. It is only through a long process, and sovereignty, that the cords can be snapped, until the whole fabric falls asunder. Already the agitation of the slavery question has suapped some of the most important, and has greatly weakened all the others, as

I shall proceed to show. The cords that bind the States together are not only many, but various in character. Some are spiritual or ecclesi-astical; some political; others social. Some appertain to the an equality in the number of States with the North, and have benefit conferred by the Union, and others to the feeling of ample, and contrary to the entire practice of the government,

duty and obligation.

The strongest of those of a spiritual and ecclesiastical na ture consisted in the unity of the great religious denomina-tions, all of which originally embraced the whole Union. All these denominations, with the exception, perhaps, of the was not confined to what appertained to the doctrines and discipline of the respective denominations, but extended to plans for disseminating the Bible, establishing missionaries, distributing tracts, and of establishing presses for the publi-

All this combined contributed greatly to strengthen the bonds of the Union. The strong ties which held each denomination together formed a strong Lord to hold the whole Union together; but, as powerful as they were, they have not been able to resist the explosive effect of slavery agitation.

The first of these cords which snapped, under its explosive force, was that of the powerful Methodist Episcopal Church.

broke, and its unity gone. They now form separate churches; and, instead of that feeling of attachment and devotion tution expressly provides, that Congress shall have power among others, the sovereign powers by which they ordained to the interests of the whole church which was formerly felt,

every portion of the Union, and strongly contributed to hold appropriate to the object of the power, but also to all that are The result of the whole of these causes combined is, that all its parts together. But this powerful cord has fared no unjust, unequal, or unfair, for all such laws would be unnethe North has acquired a decided ascendancy over every de- better than the spiritual. It resisted for a long time the ex- nessary and improper, and, therefore, unconstitutional. plosive tendency of the agitation, but has finally snapped unall the powers of the system. A single section governed by der its force—if not entirely, in a great measure. Nor is there one of the remaining cords which have not been greatly weak-

If the agitation goes on, the same force, acting with increased intensity, as has been shown, will finally snap every As then, the North has the absolute control over the Gov-ernment, it is manifest, that on all questions between it and except force. But surely that can, with no propriety of lanonly is worthy of the sacred name of Union.

the Union, and traced it to its cause, and explained its nature utive branch of the government. it can be, and that is by adopting such measurs as will satisfy the States belonging to the Southern section that they can remain in the Union consistantly with their honor and their safety. There is, again, only one way by which that can be effected, and that is by removing the causes by which this belief has been produced. Do that, and discontent will cease, harmony and kind feelings between the sections be restored and every apprehension of danger to the Union removed. The question then, is—by what can this be done? But, before I undertake to answer this question, I propose to

show by what the Union cannot be saved. It cannot, then, he saved by culogies on the Union, how ever splendid or numerous. The cry of "Union, Union-the glorious Union!" can no more prevent disunion than the cry of "Health, health—glorious health!" on the part of the physician, can save a patient lying dangerously ill. So long presumption is, that his course has been approved. This of as the Union, instead of being regarded as a protector, is regarded in the opposite character, by not much less than a and to make it responsible for them. I touch not the ques-

ciliate them by pronouncing eulogies on it. we cannot believe to be sincere. It usually comes from our assailants. But we cannot believe them to be sincere; for, if they loved the Union, they would necessarily be devoted to the Constitution. It made the Union, and to destroy the Constitution would be to destroy the Union. But the only eliable and certain evidence of devotion to the Constitution is, to abstain, on the one hand, from violating it, and to re-pel, on the other, all attempts to violate it. It is only by faithfully performing these high duties that the Constitution can be preserved, and with it the Union.

But how stands the professions of devotion to the Union passed by the Northern States to set aside and annul the clause of the constitution providing for the delivery up fugitive slaves answer. I cite this, not that it is the only inhe North, and incendiary publications scattered over the stance, (for there are many others.) but because the violation in this particular is too notorious and palpable to be denied. Again; have they stood forth faithfully to repel violations of the constitution? Let their course in reference to the agitation of the slavery question, which was commenced and has been carried on for fifteen years, avowedly for the purpose of abolishing slavery in the States-an object all acing upon Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Col- knowledged to be unconstitutional—answer. Let them show umbia, and to prohibit what they called the internal slave a single instance, during this long period, in which they trade between the States, announcing at the same time, that their ultimate object was to abolish slavery, not only in the is admitted to be unconstitutional, or a single measure which District, but in the States and throughout the Union. At they have brought forward for that purpose. How can we, that period, the number engaged in the agitation was small, with all these facts before us, believe that they are sinceae in their profession of devotion of the Union, or avoid believing their profession is but intended to increase the vigor of their assaults and weaken the force of our resistance? Nor can we regard the profession of devotion to the Union on the part of those who are not our assailants, as sincere, when they pronounce eulogies upon the Union, evidently with the intent of charging us with disunion, without uttering one ject which had a great and a commanding influence over the word of denunciation against our assailants. If friends of the Union, their course should be to unite with us in repelling these assaults, and denouncing the authors as enemies of the

Union. Why they avoid this, and pursue the course they do, t is for them to explain. Nor can the Union be saved by invoking the name of the llustrious Southerner whose mortal remains repose on the western bank of the Potomac. He was one of us-a slavewas careful to avoid doing wrong to others, he was prompt and decided in repelling wrong. I trust that, in this respect,

we profited by his example.

Nor can we find any thing in his history to deter us from seceding from the Union, should it fail to fulfil the objects for which it was instituted, by being permanently and hopeless-

expense of establishing and protecting them. Washington was born and grew up to manhood under that union. He acquired his early distinction in its service, and there is every Ohio. The great irregularity, as to admission, took place at reason to believe that he was devotedly attached to it.

But his devotion was a rational one. He was attached to t, not as an end, but as a means to an end. When it failed to fulfil its end, and, instead of affording protection, was converted into the means of oppressing the colonies, he did not he sitate to draw his sword, and head the great movement by which that union was forever severed, and the independence of these States established. This was the great and crowning glory of his life, which has spread his fame over the whole

ing glory of his life, which has spread his fame over the whole globe, and will transmit it to the latest posterity.

Nor can the plan proposed by the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, nor that of the administration, save the Union. I shall pass by, without remark, the plan proposed by the Senator, and proceed directly to the consideration of that of the administration. I, however, assure the distinguished and able Senator, that in taking this course, no disrespect whatever is intended to him or his plan. I have adopted it, because so many Senators of distinguished abilities,

Wilmot proviso, and thereby avoid encountering the united and determined resistance of the South, it denies, by implication, the authority of Congress to legislate for the Territories, and claims the right as belonging exclusively to the inhabitants of the Territories. But to effect the object of excluding the South, it takes care, in the mean time, to let in emigrants freely from the Northern States and all other quar- It has no validity, and can have none, without your sancters, except from the South, which it takes special care to exclude by holding up to them the danger of having their slaves liberated under the Mexican laws. The necessary consequence is to exclude the South from the Territory, just as effectually as would the Wilmot proviso. T. only difference in this respect is, that what one proposes to effect directly and openly, the other proposes to effect indirectly and cov-

But the Executive proviso is more objectionable than the Wilmot, in another and more importat particular. The latter, to effect its object, inflicts a dangerous wound upon the constitution, by depriving the Southern States, as joint partners and owners of the territories, of their rights in them; but it inflicts no greater wound than is absolutely necessary to effect its object. The former, on the contrary, while it inflicts the same wound, inflicts others equally great, and, if possible, greater as I shall next proceed to explain.

In claiming the right for the inhabitants, instead of Congress, to legislate for the territories, in the Executive proviso, it assumes that the sovereignty over the territories is vested in the former; or to express it in the language used in a resolution offered by one of the Senators from Texas, (Gen. Honston, now absent,) they have "the same inherent right

of self-government as the people in the States." The assumption is utterly unfounded, unconstitutional, without exfrom its commencement to the present time, as I shall pro

The recent movements of individuals in California to form a constitution and State government, and to appoint Senaa constitution and State government, and the state of this monstrous assumption. If the individuals, who made this movement, had gone into California as adventurers, and if, as such, the had conquered the territory and established their indepen dence, the sovereignty of the country would have been vested in them, as a separate and independent community. In that case, they would have had the right to form a constitution, and to establish a government for themselves; and if, afterwards, they thought proper to apply to Congress for admission into the Union as a sovereign and independent State, all this would have been regular and according to established principles. But such is not the cree. It was the United States who conquered California and finally acquired it by treaty.

or been divested of their sovereignty.

Nor is it less clear, that the power of legislating over the acquired territory is vested in Congress, and not, as is assumed, in the inhabitants of the territories. None can deny that the government of the United States have the power to acquire territories, either by war or treaty; but if the power The numerous and strong ties which held it together are all broke, and its unity gone. They now form separate churchecution. On this point there can be no doubt, for the consti-

Having now established, beyond controversy, that the sovereignty over the territories is vested in the United States-that is in the several States composing the Union ; and that the power of legislating over them is expressly vested in Congress, it follows that the individuals in California who have undertaken to form a constitution and a State, and to exercise the power of legislating without the consent of Congress, have usurped the sovereignty of the State and the authority of Congress, and have acted in open defiance of both. In other words, what they have done is revolutionary and rebellious in its character, anarchical in its tendency, and calculated to lead to the most dangerous conpartake much more of the character of subjugation, on the part of the weaker to the stronger, than the union of free, independent, and sovereign States, in one confederation, as such is not the case. The blame lies much less upon them they stood in the early stages of the government, and which | than upon those who have induced them to take a course so unconstitutional and dangerous. They have been led into it Having now, Senators, explained what it is that endangers by language held here, and the course pursued by the exec-

I have not seen the answer of the Executive to the calls nade by the two Houses of Congress for information as to the course which it took, or the part which it acted, in reference to what was done in California. I understand the answers have not yet been printed. But there is enough known to justify the assertion, that those who profess to represent and act under the authority of the Executive, have advised, aided, and eucourged the movement, which terminated in forming, what they call the Constitution and a State. General Riley, who professed to act as civil Governor, called the Couvention, determined on the number and distribution of the delegates, appointed the time and place ot its meeting, was present during the session, and gave its proceedings his approbation and sanction. If he acted without authority, he ought to have been tried, or at least reprimajority of the States, it will be in vain to attempt to con- tion, whether General Riley was appointed or received the instructions under which he professed to act from the pres-Besides, this cry of Union comes commonly from those who ent Executive or its predecessor. If from the former, it would implicate the preceding as well as the present Administration. If not, the responsibility rests exclusively on the

> It is manifest from this statement, that the Executive Department has undertaken to perform acts preparatory to the meeting of the individuals to form their so-called constitution and government, which appertain exclusively to Congress. Indeed, they are identical in many respects, with the provisions adopted by Congress, when it gives permission to a territory to form a constitution and government, in order to be admitted as a State into the Union. Having now shown that the assumption upon which the Executive and the individuals in California acted throughout this whole affair, is unfounded, unconstitutional, and dangerous, it remains to make a few remarks, in order to submission or resistance. show that what has been done is contrary to the entire

was admitted, the practice was uniform. Territorial governments were first organized by Congress. The government of the United States appointed the Governors, Judges. Secretaries, Marshals, and other officers, and the inhabi tants of the territory were represented by legislative bodies, whose acts were subject to the revisions of Congress This state of things continued until the government of territory applied to Congress to permit its inhabitants to form a constitution and government, preparatory to admission into the Union. The preliminary act to giving permission was, to ascertain whether the inhabitants were sufficiently numerous to authorize them to be formed into a done, and the number proving sufficient, permission was

The act granting it, fixed all the preliminaries -- the time and place of holding the convention; the qualification, of the voters; establishment of its boundaries, and all other measures necessary to be settled previous to admission. The act giving permission necessarily withdraws the sovereignty of the United States, and leaves the inhabitants o the incipient State as free to form their constitution nolder and a planter. We have studied his history, and find and government, as were the original States of the Union nothing in it to justify submission to wrong. On the contra-ry, his great fame rests on the solid foundation that, while he people, in legal and constitutional language. Prior to this, they were, by the old acts of Congress, called inhabitants, and not people. All this is perfectly consistent with the sovereignty of the United States, with the powers of Congress, and with the right of a people to self govern-

Michigan was the first case in which there was any departure from the uniform rule of acting. Hers was a very slight departure from established usage. The ordinance of sand dellars worth of gold dust on freight and be-'87 secured to her the right of becoming a State, when she longing to passengers. the next session, but on a point which can have no pos-

sible connexion with the case of Californta. leparture from established usages, it was done on the presumed consent of Congress, and not in defiance of its authority, or the sovereignty of the United States over the territories. In this respect California stands alone, without usage or a single example to cover her case.

Such is the first and great cause that has destroyed the equilibrium between the two sections in the government.

The next is the system of revenue and disbursements which has been adopted by the government. It is well known that the government has ferry the section in the government and the property of the first that the south is united against the William of the section of the third of the section of the two sections in the government. It is well known that the government has derived its revenue mainly from duties of the Norment has derived its revenue mainly from duties of the Norment has derived its revenue mainly from duties of the Norment has derived its revenue mainly from duties of the Norment has derived its revenue mainly from duties of the Norment has derived its revenue mainly from duties of the Norment has derived its revenue mainly from duties of the Norment has in reality padvastily more than her due proportion of the Union, has in the Gould, as the great exporting portion of the Union, has in salid the proportion of the Union, has in the salid the proportion of the Union, has in salid the proportion of the Union, has in the proportion of the

stitution and government? Again, can you believe that the project of a constitution which they have adopted, has the least validity? Can you believe that there is such a State in reality as the State of California? No; there is no such State. It has no legal or constitutional existence. tion. How, then, can you admit it as a State, when according to the provision of the constitution, your power is limited to admitting new States. To be admitted, it must be a State, an existing State, independent of your sanction, before you can admit. When you give your permission to the inhabitants of a territory to form a constitution and a State, he constitution and State they form, "derive their authority from the people, and not from you. The State before admitted is actually a State, and does not become so by the act of admission, as would be the case with California should you admit her contrary to constitutional provisions and established usage heretofore. The Senators on the other side of the Chamber must per-

nit me to make a few remarks in this connection particularly applicable to them, with the exception of a few Sena tors from the South, sitting on that side of the Chamber, when the Oregon question was before this body not two years since. You took (if I mistake not) universally the ground that Congress had the sole and absolute power of legislating for the territories. How then, can you now, after the short interval which has elapsed, abandon the ground which you took, and thereby virtually admit that the power of legislating, instead of being in Congress, is in the inhabitants of the territories? How can you justify and sanction by your votes the acts of the Executive which are n direct derogation of what you then contended for? But to approach still nearer to the present time, how can you after condemning, little more than a year since, the grounds taken by the party which you defeated at the last election. wheel round and support by your votes the grounds which, as explained recently on this floor by the candidate of the party in the last election, are identical with those on which the Executive has acted in reference to California? What are we to understand by all this? Must we conclude that there is no sincerity, no faith in the acts and declarations of public men, and that all is mere acting or hollow profession? Or are we to conclude that the exclusion of the South from the territory acquired from Mexico is an object of so paramount a character in your estimation, that right, justice, constitution and consistency, must all yield, when they stand in the way of our exclusion?

But, it may be asked, what is to be done with California. should she not be admitted? I answer, remand her back to the territorial condition, as was done in the case of Tennes- order, and making privileged motions, upon which ees, in the early stage of the government. Congress, in her case, had established a territorial government in the usual form, with a Governor, Judges, and other officers, appointed by the United States. She was entitled, under the time for its consideration had expired, when it was deed of cession, to be admitted into the Union as a State. as soon as she had sixty thousand inhabitants. The territorial government, believing it had that number, took a census, by which it appeared it exceeded it. She then formed a constitution, and applied for admission. Congress refu "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry into execution the foregoing powers," (those vested in Congress,) "and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department to States, as it was authorised to do under the cession. means of maintaining them against the right claimed by this government, it necessarily follows, that they hold them at its pleasure and discretion, and that all the powers of the system are in reality concentrated in it. It also follows, that ing a provision that the territory should form one State .- red to the Committee of the Whole, thus securing this important provision, while it gives to Congress the power admitted as a State, in due form. The irregularities in the this number the Northern States had 1,977,899, and the Same the Same that the Sa then be time for us to decide what is to be done Having now shown what cannot save the Union, I re

turn to the question with which I commenced. How can

the Union be saved? There is but one way by which it

can with any certainty, and that is by a full and final settle ment, on the principle of justice, of all the questions at issimple justice, and less she ought not to take. She has no compromise to offer, but the constitution; and no concession or surrender to make. She has already surrendered so much that she has little left to surrender. Such a settlement would go to the root of the evil, and remove all cause of discontent. By satisfying the South, she could remain honorably and safely in the Union, and thereby restore the harmony and fraternal feelings between the sections, which existed anterior to the Missouri agitation. Nothing else can, with any certainty, finally and forever settle the questions at issue, terminate agitation, and save the Union. But can this be done. Yes, easily; not by the weaker party, for it can of itself do nothing-not even protect itself-but by the stronger. The North has only to will it to accomplish it—to do justice by conceding to the South an equal right in the acquired territory, and to do her duty by causing the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled-to cease the agitation of the slave question, and to provide for the insertion of a provision in the constitution, by an amendment, which will restore to the South in substance the power she possessed of protecting herself, before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed by the action of this government. There will be no difficulty in devising such a provision. One that will protect the South, and which, at the same time, will improve and strengthen the government, instead of impairing and weakening it.

But will the North agree to do this? It is for her to answer this question. But, I will say, she cannot refuse, if she has half the love of the Union which she professes have, or without justly exposing herself to the charge that itself is sufficient to identify the Executive with his acts, her love of the Union. At all events, the responsibility of her love of power and aggrandizement is far greater than saving the Union rests on the North, and not the South,-The South cannot save it by any act of hers, and the North may save it without any sacrifice whatever, unless to do justice, and to perform her duties under the constitution, should be regarded by her as a sacrifice.

It is time, Senators, that there should be an open and manly avowal on all sides, as to what is intended to be done. If the question is not now settled, it is uncertain whether it ever can hereafter be; and we, as the representatives of the States of this Union, regarded as Governments, should come to a distinct understanding as to our respective views, in order to ascertain whether the great questions at issue can be settled or not. If you, who represent the Whitehill, New Jersey. stronger portion, cannot agree to settle them on the broad principle of justice and duty, say so; and let the States we both represent agree to separate and part in peace. If you are unwilling we should part in peace, tell us so, and we shall know what to do when you reduce the question to

If you remain silent, you will compel us to infer by your acts what you intend. In that case, California will becom the test question. If you admit her, under all the difficulties that oppose her admission, you compel us to infer that yo intend to exclude us from the whole of the acquired territo ries, with the intention of destroying irretrievably the equilibrium between the two sections. We would be blind no to perceive in that case, that your real objects are power and aggrandizement, and infatuated not to act accordingly.

I have now, Senators, done my duty in expressing my opinions fully, freely, and candidly, on this solemn occawhich have governed me in all the stages of the agitation of the slavery question since its commencement. I have exerted myself, during the whole period, to arrest it, with the intention of saving the Union, if it could be done; and State. This was done by taking a census. That being if it could not, to save the section where it has pleased Projustice and the constitution on its side. Having faithfully consolation, let what will come, that I am free from all responsibility.

Telegraphed for the Baltimore Sun. NEW ORLEANS, February 28. Later from California.

Arrival of the Alabama-Inundation of Sacramento City—Great Loss of Property—Gold Washed Up—Fight with the Chilians—Col. Fremont and Lady. The steamer Alabama arrived here to-day from Panama. She brings 65 passengers and dates from San Francisco to the 24th of January.

The Alabama brings four hundred and fifty thou-

exceedingly distressing to the citizens, yet it has been beneficial in other respects. The overflowing of the waters has washed out immense quantities of undiscovered.

At the mines near Stockton, the Chilians made quite a fierce attack upon the Americans working there. Several of the assassins were killed and a whose only conception of wit is abuse. Of course, the idea of seriously defending anybody against such and admission into the Union. They all recognized the number wounded on both sides, and many of the an assailant, is perfectly ridiculous. sovereignty of the United States, and the authority of Con- Chilians taken prisoners. It is believed that this gress over the territories; and wherever there was any outrage will so incense the Americans that they will not rest until the offenders are driven entirely out of the country. The excitement had become intense. Mrs. Fremont has recovered her health, and herself and hushand are about departing from Panama ral of these amazons repaired to certain mills where

THE WILMINGTON JOURNAL

WILMINGTON, N. C., FRIDAY, MARCH 8, 1850.

DEMOCRATIC MEETING! We have been requested to give notice, that a meeting of the Democratic Party of New Hanover County, will be held in the Court-House in this Town on Tuesday of Court week, (13th inst.,) at 7 1-2 o'clock in the evening, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the Democratic State Convention, to be held metime in May next: A full attendance is request-

COUNTY COURT .- The March term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, for N. Hanover County. will commence its session on Monday next. It will continue for two weeks.

Congress: The wish to lay before our readers Mr. Calltoun's long-looked-for speech upon the slavery question must form our excuse for the omission of our usual Congressional summary. But little, however, is lost by this, as that question has been the only one under discussion, and the chief interest of the week centres in Mr. C.'s speech, which we give in full, as read in the Senate of the United States on the 4th inst., by Mr. Mason of Virginia. We forbear comment. which, indeed, the crowded state of our columns does not permit, and which would, at any rate be unnecessary, as we presume every one will read the speech for himself. It will be seen that Mr. Calhoun regards the admission of California as forming the grand test question at the present time, between the North and the South. We cannot see that Mr. Calhoun proposes any specific line of policy for the adjustment of the pending difficulties.

Serious fears were at one time entertained, that the recurrence of Mr. Doty's resolution instructing the Territorial Committee of the House to bring in a bill for the immediate admission of California as a State, would be productive of stormy scenes in that body. It will be remembered that this resolution was introduced last Monday two weeks, and the previous question demanded upon it, with the view of forcing it through without allowing any debate. This, the Southern members defeated by raising points of they demanded the yeas and nays. In this way, the vote upon the main question was prevented until the laid over under the rules for two weeks. On Monday last, it would again have come up, and from the excited feelings to which it had previously given rise. it was feared that it would lead to scenes of violence. This difficulty, however, was obviated, by the withdrawal of the resolution, and the substitution of a bill for the admission of California, which was referfull liberty of debate, and doing away with the gag

ton, during the latter part of last week, and the beginning of this, to the effect that Washington city had been the theatre of violent collisions between members from the different sections. It is hardly sue between the two sections. The South asks for justice, necessary to say that such rumours were totally un-

We notice, from the debates in the Senate on Tuesday last, that Mr. Foote has taken ground against Mr. Calhoun's proposed amendment of the Constitution, for the purpose of giving the Southern States a larger representation. This Mr. Calhoun considers essential to the safety of the Union, by restoring the equilibrium of the government, and enabling the South to protect herself. Mr. Foote considers such proposition as injurious, because impracticable. The constitution was good enough for him, and all he wanted was that its provisions should be carried out, as he believed they would be, under a compromise which he hoped would be made within the next ten days. He was also opposed to Mr. Calhoun's indiscriminate censure of the North. It would seem that Mr. Foote expresses the views of the majority of the Southern Senators, as it appears that he took the ground which he did, after consultation with his Southern colleagues.

CENTRAL RAIL ROAD .- The Board of Commissioners have issued a circular, announcing the completion of the subscription, and calling for the first instalment of five per cent.

Explosion.—On the 1st instant, a locomotive on the line between New York and Philadelphia. exploded, it is supposed, from the want of water in the boiler. Three men were killed, and some others severely wounded. The engine was totally demolished. The accident occurred in the neighborhood of

The Baltic, a new steamship of 3,000 tons burthen, intended for Collins' European line, was launched at New York on the 2d instant. The steamship Republic, running between Baltimore and Charleston, has been bought to run between New York and California. She will immediately proceed to New York.

STEAMBOAT EXPLOSION .- The steamer Clifton, of Philadelphia, while lying at New Castle, Delaware, on the afternoon of the 2d instant, burst her boiler, or rather some of the stay-bolts of the boiler gave sion. In doing so, I have been governed by the motives way, and the escaping steam killed the engineer, and scalded several others very dangerously. Nobody to

Godey, for March, is upon our table, containvidence to cast my lot, and which I sincerely believe has ing, according to the table of contents, twenty-one embellishments and thirty-five contributions. This done my duty to the best of my ability, both to the Union and my section, throughout this agitation, I shall have the is about all we know of it, barring the three steel plates at the beginning, which are very good; at least the "Little Angler" is; the "Confidant" tells no tale, or, at least, has no point, and the beauty of the piece is a fat girl, with ringlets as big as saura-

The Raleigh Times-Low Abuse.

The Times, a Federalist print, published in Raleigh, by Chas. C. Raboteau, (we are thus particular in describing it, because we doubt if any of our readers has ever seen or heard of the thing before.) contains in its last number a scurrilous article against Messrs. Ashe and McKAY. The latter gentleman it which excluded the South from that large portion of Louisiana which lies north of 36 30, excepting what is included in the South from the state of Missouri. The last of the series excluded the South from the whole of the Oregon Territory. All these, in the slang of the day, were what are called save territories, and only from the whole of the Oregon Territory. All these, in the slang of the day, were what are called against assuming jurisdiction, but in vain. Had much to endear it to the people of the colonies. Under take grounds against assuming jurisdiction, but in vain. Had much to endear it to the people of the colonies were the slang of the day, were what are called against assuming jurisdiction, but in vain. Had much to endear it to the people of the colonies. Under take grounds against assuming jurisdiction, but in vain. Had much to endear it to the people of the colonies. Under the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to spiral the river—a thing that has not happened before to the river—a thing that has not opportunity and every white the river—a thing that has not opportunity and spiral the river—a thi lion of dollars. Although this calamity has proved abounds in such characteristic phrases as "No, serree," "hopping the twig or climbing both sides of the sapling," &c., all of which are in perfect keeping with The irregularities in all other cases that have since oc- gold from the earth where it had before remained the Editor's reputation as a street rowdy, who knows no argument beyond an appeal to brute force, and whose only conception of wit is abuse. Of course,

Female Rioters. Amongst the "rights of women," the fair dames of Pittsburg, Penn., seem to claim that of rioting as much as they please. On the 1st and 2d inst., sevequired sufficient influence to induce the Legislatures of most of the Northern States to pass acts, which in effect abrogating from Panama respect whatever is intended to him or his plan. I have adopted the Northern States to pass acts, which in effect abrogating from Panama for the Constitution that provides for the delity causes so many Senators of distinguished abilities, which in effect abrogating from Panama for the Constitution that provides for the delity capable to do justice to this unprecedented transaction. It belongs, now, Senators, for you to decide what part the next steamer.

It belongs, now, Senators for you to decide what part the unit of the United States. They will doubtless leave by the next steamer.

The States and popular meetings, to exclude the Southern section of the Union, that they can, consistently with safety and honor, remain in the Union. It is in fact but a modification of the Wilmot person you meet is a pig."

It belongs, now, Senators for you to decide what part the United States. They will doubtless leave by the United States. They will doubtless leave by the United States. They will doubtless leave by the united the next steamer.

The States and unsnand are about departing from Panama for the United States. They will doubtless leave by the united the next steamer.

The States and unsnand are about departing from Panama for the United States. They will doubtless leave by the united the next steamer.

The States and Francisco from New York.

A gentleman, in writing from the west to his broad arrived at San Francisco from New York.

A gentleman, in writing from the west to his broad arrived at San Francisco from New York.

A gentleman, in writing from Panama for the Union as a State; and the question is, will be the next steamer.

The Executive has laid the paper purporting to be the constitution of California before you, and asks you to admit the next steamer.

A gentleman, in writing from the west to his broad arrived at San Francisco from New York.

A gentleman, in writing fr It belongs, now, Senators, for you to decide what part for the United States. They will doubtless leave by you will act in reference to this unprecedented transaction. They will doubtless leave by the next steamer. rowly escaped being thrown in. Vive la petti-